

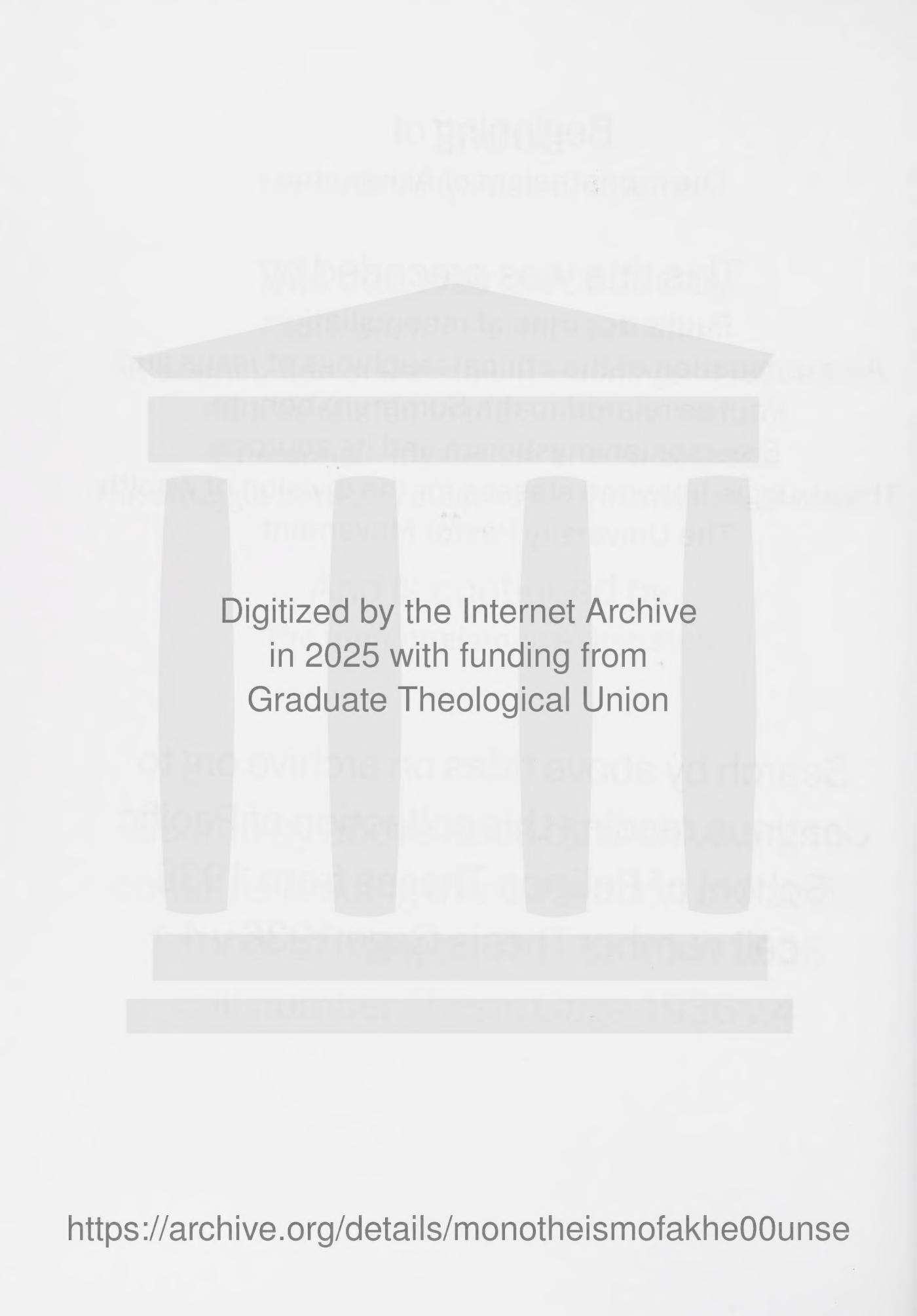
Beginning of The monotheism of Akhenaten

This title was preceded by
Paul's doctrine of reconciliation

An examination of the ethical teachings of Jesus and
Paul as related to the Summum bonum
Emersonian mysticism and its sources

The struggle between classes for the division of wealth
The University Pastor Movement

Search by above titles on archive.org to
continue reading this collection of Pacific
School of Religion Theses from 1936
call number Thesis Cage 1936 v.4



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025 with funding from
Graduate Theological Union

THE MONOTHEISM OF AKHENATEN

THESIS

During my second year as a student in the Theological School of Religion, I had the pleasure of taking a summer course on the book of Psalms under Dr. W. Miller Prentiss, D.D.

The assignment in the topic for my term paper, "Comparative Study of the Psalms and Psalms of the Babylonian Psalms" and Toru Yamazaki

A.B., University of Doshisha, Japan, 1930
M.A., Pacific School of Religion, 1935

The Japanese name and the title of my thesis.

Therefore I would like to dedicate this thesis to the late Dr. Miller Prentiss who gave me much guidance and was such an inspiration to me in writing this thesis, and whose memory will always be an inspiration to me.

THESIS

Submitted in the Department of Old Testament
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Sacred Theology
in the Pacific School of Religion

1936

PREFACE

Chapter

During my second year as a student at the Pacific School of Religion, I had the pleasure of taking a seminar course on the Book of Psalms under the late Dr. William Frederic Bade.

He suggested as the topic for my term paper, "Comparative Study of the Old Testament Psalms with the Babylonian Psalms and the Egyptian Hymns."

This thesis is an outgrowth of a further study of the Egyptian hymns and the early forms of Egyptian religion.

Therefore I would like to dedicate this thesis to the late Dr. William Frederic Bade whose thorough scholarship was such an inspiration to me in writing this thesis, and whose memory will always be an inspiration in my life.

CONTENTS

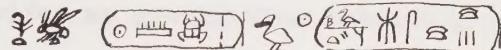
Chapter	Page
I. THE FAMILY LINEAGE OF AKHENATEN.....	1
II. THE RELIGIOUS REFORMATION UNDER AKHENATEN....	10
III. THEOLOGY OF ATEN.....	26
IV. FACTORS THAT LED TO ATEN MONOTHEISM.....	52
CONCLUSION.....	73

CHAPTER I

THE FAMILY LINEAGE OF AKHENATEN

Akhenaten (Ikhnaton)¹, Amenhetep IV was the son of Amenhetep III who was the son of Thotmose IV and Mutemua.

In order to gain a clear understanding of Amenhetep IV, it is necessary to discuss his family heritage, beginning with Thotmose IV, who was his grandfather.

Thotmose IV,  (Re-Men-Kheperu, son of the Sun, Tehuti-mes-kha-khau),

the *Toulywos* of Manetho, married Mut-em-ua,  the daughter of Artatama, the king of Mitanni after he became the successor of the throne, thus making him Pharaoh of Egypt.

The record of this marriage is found in the tablet of Tell el-Amarna, which is now in the museum at Berlin.

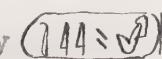
Tushratta, the king of Mitanni stated in his epistle to Amen-hetep IV in the third and fourth paragraphs the following:

"Now, my brother, let the friendship which existeth between men and thee be ten times stronger than that which existed between thy father

1. This spelling was used in the Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. II.

Nimmuriya¹ any myself. In all the dealings which he had with me he never caused me sorrow by any word which he spake, and I never caused him sorrow by any word which I spake; whatsoever I asked him to do that he did on that very day, and whatsoever he asked me to do that did on that very day.

When the father of Nimmuriya (Thotmose IV) sent to Artatama my grandfather and asked for his daughter to wife, my grandfather refused his request, and though he sent the fifth time, and the sixth time, he would not give her to him. It was only after he had sent (the seventh time) that he gave her to him, being (compelled for many reasons) to give her.²

The son of Thotmose IV and Mut-em-ua, became Amenhetep III, or Amenophis III (Αμένωφις), or  (嗣)  (嗣) (Re-Maat-neb, son of the Sun, Amen-hetep-her-Uast), upon his enthronement. He was the great grandson of Thotmose III. During Amenhetep III's reign the Egyptian Kingdom was gradually declining. Early in his reign, he married a remarkable woman named Tiii or Thi, or Tiy (), of untitled parentage.

1. Means Amenhetep III,  (Neb-Maat-Ra)

2. Budge, History of Egypt, IV, p. 88.

The claims as to whether she was of foreign birth can be refuted as there is not a particle of evidence to prove it. Judging from the many portraits of Queen Tiii which were found in her tomb, they show quite clearly that her physical facial characteristics were of pronounced foreign type. (The tomb was discovered by Davies and Aytron in 1907¹ at Sarabit el Khadim² and in the Fayyum of late years.)

These foreign characteristics of Tiii can be accounted for by the reason that she was not an Egyptian of pure blood. Her father was Iuaa, (ഉാ) and her mother Thuaa, (ഉാ). The authenticity of the parentage of Tiii appears in the following quotation:

"Live.....King Amenhetep (III), who is given life, and the Great King's Wife Tiii, who liveth. The name of her father is Iuaa, the name of her mother is Thuaa. She is the wife of a mighty King whose southern boundary is as far as Karoy (and) northern as far as Neharin."³

Thuaa, the mother of Tiii, was a court lady of Queen Mutemua and probably an Egyptian, but her father Iuaa, may have belonged to the Abadeh or Beja race who were

1. Davies, Tomb of Tiyi. London, 1910.

2. Petrie, Researches in Sinai, fig. 133; Davies, op. cit. pl. xxxiv.

3. Breasted, A. R., II, #862.

desert-dwellers. There is a probability that these desert-dwellers belonged to the Semitic race.¹

The Queen Tiiii exerted a powerful influence over Amenhetep III, her husband. So great was her influence that Amenhetep III inserted her name in the official caption, placed at the head of royal documents.

The material evidences of this can be seen in the scarabs on which were inscribed the following:

"Year second under the majesty of King Amenhetep (III) given life, and the great King's Wife Tiiii, living like Re.

Marvel which happened to his majesty. One came to say to his majesty: 'There are wild cattle upon the highlands, as the region of (Sheta) --St.' His majesty sailed down-stream in the royal barge, Khammat at the time of evening, beginning the goodly way, and arriving in safety at the region of Sheta at the time of morning....."² (The preceding scarab records the first hunting achievements of the chase-loving Amenhetep III.)

"Live.....Amenhetep (III), Ruler of Thebes, Given life, and the Great King's-Wife: Tiiii, who

1. Hall, Ancient History of the Near East, pp. 255-6.
Breasted, A. R., II, #864.

liveth. Statement of lions which his majesty brought down with his own arrows from year 1 to year 10: fierce lions, 102."

(In his tenth year, the King issued a large number of scarabs with the above inscriptions to commemorate his success in lion-hunting.)¹

Tiii's power, exerted through her great influence on her husband, continued throughout Amenhetep III's reign.

This era in Egypt was characterized by the prominence of the queen in state affairs as well as at public occasions. The part played by the queen appears only under Amenhetep III's reign and in the reign of his immediate successors in the history of Egyptian Pharaohs.

It is evident that Amenhetep III had a wife aside from Tiii. He was perhaps the nephew of Shuttatna, of Mitanni from whom he received a daughter named Gilukhipa, in marriage (cf. Breasted, A. R., II, #866f).

Further proof of this is that:

"Though Amenhetep III did not imitate his father in taking to wife an entirely foreign princess, yet he admitted a daughter of Mitanni to His Harem as an inferior wife."²

1. Breasted, op. cit. #864.

2. Hall, op. cit., p. 256.

The question arises as to which of his two wives, Tiii or Gilukhipa, came earlier into the life of Amenhetep III. The scarab to be quoted, proves beyond a doubt, that Amenhetep III was already married to Tiii in the tenth year. Which was before the time Satharna's daughter Gilukhipa was brought to him in Egypt.

"Year tenth under the majesty of Horus,.....

Amenhetep, prince of Thebes, giver of life; the royal wife, the mighty lady, Tiii, the living one..... They brought to his majesty, life, strength, and health, Kirkipa (Gilkhipa), the daughter of Satharna, the prince of Neherna, and all her chief women, 317 in number."¹

Amenhetep IV or Amenophis IV, the *Ypos* of Manetho,  (Re-infer-kheperneue-en-Re, son of Re, Amenhetep-neter-eq-Uast) in the Egyptian texts, was the son of Amenhetep III and his wife Tiii. He became the successor to the throne of Egypt. There is neither evidence nor knowledge of the circumstances which lead to Amenhetep IV's accession to the throne. It is probable that since Tiii, his mother, was the favorite wife, she arranged the whole matter.

1. Budge, Hist. of Egypt, IV, pp. 98-99.

When Amenhetep IV began to reign as the Pharaoh of Egypt, his Horus name was Qua-shuti, which means "Exalted one of the double plumes" later he adopted as his titles,



Qa-shutî

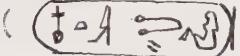
"Divine prince of Thebes," and "King of the South and North, high-priest of Ra-Heru-khuti (Re-Harmachis), the exalted one in the horizon in his name of Shu who is in his disk,"¹ and "Mighty one in his duration."²

At the time when Amenhetep IV ascended the throne, he must have reached the age when he could possess a man's estate as shown in a letter of Tashrattra, king of Mitanni, addressed to Amenhetep IV.

"To Nimmuriya, King of Egypt, my brother, my
son-in-law, whom I love, and who loveth me,
Tushratta, king of Mitanni, who loveth thee, thy
Father-in-law. With me it is well. May it also
be well with thee, and thy house, and with my
daughter Tatunkhipa, thy wife whom thou lovest,
and may it be well with thy Wives, and with thy
Sons, and thy nobles, and with thy chariots, and

$$2. \quad \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{1} \text{ m}$$

with thy horses....." (British Museum No. 29,
793)¹

Tatumkhipa, the wife of Amenhetep IV, and Nefer-tith
(), also his wife, have been confused
by many as possibly being one person. This is not so as
it is more likely that Nefer-tith was an Egyptian lady and
the daughter of some princess of royal blood. Tiiii and
Amenhetep III must have arranged for the marriage of their
son Amenhetep IV to Nefer-tith so that their son might have
access to the throne through this marriage as he was not
able due to his descent from Tiiii, a foreign mother.²

According to Weigall³, we are led to believe that
prince Amenhetep IV had at one time been married to
Tatumkhipa. After the arrival of Tatumkhipa at Egypt,
there appears no account of her, and it is probable that
she died at an early age.

After Tatumkhipa's death, Amenhetep IV's marriage
was arranged by his Father and Mother as indicated in the
above paragraph, which made Nefer-tith queen. This ar-
ranged marriage took place when Amenhetep IV was thirteen
years old.⁴

1. Bezzold-Budge, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, No. 10, p. 42.

2. Budge, Hist. of Egypt, IV, pp. 114-5.

3. Weigall, The Life and Times of Akhnaton, p. 48.

4. Hall, op. cit., p. 299.

In the sixth year of his reign, when he was about fifteen years old, he openly proclaimed his heresy, and the religious reformation was begun in Egypt at this time.

CHAPTER II

THE RELIGIOUS REFORMATION UNDER AKHENATEN

The origin and the early history of the God Amen is somewhat obscure. The Egyptian word "Amen"  means "hidden." The root of the word "amen"  , means "that which is hidden" or "that which cannot be seen."

In the hymns written to the god Amen, he is often mentioned as being "hidden to his children" or hidden to the other gods, and to all men.

During the eighteenth dynasty, among the many gods, the god Amen received the highest reverence of the Egyptian people. This is seen in that the Pharaohs of this dynasty used the god's name and called themselves Amenophis I, II, III, etc.

At this time, the worship of Amen increased and spread through the Eastern Desert and as far as in Syria. The successful campaigns of the Egyptian armies in Western Asia, Phoenicia, and Syria, were all attributed to the work of Amen, just as the Israelites attributed their successes to Jahweh. This increased the worship of Amen to such an extent that he could have been declared the "God of the

world" especially during the reign of Thotmose III.

Amen's sanctuary at Karnak was a small building which consisted of a shrine with a few small chambers grouped around it.

Amenhetep I, the second Pharaoh of the eighteenth Dynasty, was a great worshipper of Amen. He was the founder of the order of the priests of Amen and endowed the temple in the Northern Apt with great wealth. Thotmose III, the fourth Pharaoh of the eighteenth Dynasty, set the priesthood in order and appointed a high priest. He also gave rich revenues and large estates for the maintenance of the priesthood.

Amenhetep II, the successor of Thotmose III must also have been a loyal worshipper of Amen. The stela, which he set up after his return from the Upper Rethennu, is an evidence of this fact. The translation of the inscription on this stela is the following:

".....with a heart expanded with joy to Father
Amen because He had overthrown all His enemies."¹

So far, all the Pharaohs of the eighteenth Dynasty worshipped Amen as their greatest God. Thotmose IV, the next Pharaoh in line, however, showed a marked trend away

1. Breasted, A. R., II, #797.

from the worship of Amen. This was in order to gain assistance from the Priests of Amu or Heliopolis through which he could become a successor of Thotmose III. Thotmose IV was the son of Amenhetep II by a wife who was not of royal rank.

The sudden change of the Pharaoh Thotmose IV's devotion from Amen of his predecessors to Temu-Herachies, the god of Heliopolis, can be explained by the following story which was recorded by him on a stela which is in front of an altar between the paws of a sphinx:

"One day the king was hunting in this neighborhood about the time of noon and he halted to rest under the shadow of the Sphinx; whilst he was resting, sleep overcame him, and he dreamed a dream just at the time when the sun reached the highest point in the heavens. He thought that the majesty of the venerable God came to him and began to speak to him face to face, even as a father speaketh to his son, saying, 'Behold me, O my son Thotmose, I am thy father Heru-khti-Khepera-Re-Temu, and unto Thee shall it be granted to sit upon my throne and to rule among the living, and thou shalt wear upon thy head the crowns of the South and of North, and

Thou shalt sit upon the throne of Seb, the prince of the gods.....My face is turned towards thee, and my heart is set towards Thee for good, and thou are indeed developed by my being. But the sand whereon I have my being hath closed me in on all sides; say unto me that thou wilt do for me all that I desire, and then I shall know that thou art indeed my son and he that will help me. Draw nigh unto me, and I will be with thee, and I will guide thee."¹

Thus, we know that he received great assistance from the priests of Heliopolis in obtaining the throne. He also helped in restoring the worship of "Temu-Herachies," one of the oldest gods of the northern kingdom.

Amenhetep III was the son of Thotmose IV. He was not an Amen worshipper. His wife Tiii was native of the country near Heliopolis according to some historians. If so, it is possible that she was a devout worshipper of Aten. The form of Aten worship was similar to the worship of Temu. If such was the case, she must have encouraged her husband to worship Aten.

1. Budge, Hist. of Egypt, IV, p. 92.

Origin of the god Aten is obscure. All that is known about him under the Middle Empire is that he was a form of the Sun-God who was worshipped in a small town in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis.

The word Aten  or Athen  , had meant "disk" or "face of the sun" from ancient times in Egypt.¹

At an early period in the reign of Amenhetep III, he built a temple in honour of Aten at Memphis. Later he built one at Thebes close to the great sanctuary of Amen. This was done although the priests of Amen objected simply because they were powerless before their Pharaoh. At this time Aten worship became known among the people in Thebes.

A group of scarabs dated in the eleventh year of his reign gives the information as follows:

"His majesty ordered the making of a lake for the royal wife, the great lady Tiii, in her city of Tcharukha. Its length was 3600 cubits (6,000 ft.) and its breadth 600 cubits (1,000 ft.)."²

"The festival of inauguration was performed by his majesty on the 16th day of the 3rd month of the season Shat, when his majesty sailed over it in his boat called 'Aten-neferu'.³

1. Budge, Gods of the Egyptians, II, p. 68.

2. Budge, Hist. of Egypt, IV, p. 99.

3. (Aten-neferu) which means "the brilliant of Aten."

The naming of the boat in honour of Aten by Amenhetep III shows his devotion to Aten.

Amenhetep IV, the son of Amenhetep III, succeeded his father and like him was a worshipper of Aten. Amenhetep IV, however, was bolder than his father and proclaimed that the whole pantheon of Egypt, including Amun was fiction and that Aten was in reality the only deity who existed. He also declared himself the "high priest" of Aten thus bringing about a great religious reformation in Egypt.

During the early years of Amenhetep IV's reign, he completed the construction of the Temple of Aten at Thebes, which was begun by his father, and introduced the worship of Aten as the only real god of the Empire.

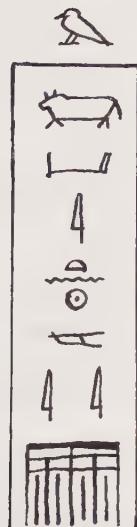
Such being the case the worship of all gods except Aten was forbidden. Thus began a period in which the worshippers of other gods were persecuted. The persecution of the worshippers of Amun was the most severe. At Thebes, the persecutors entered the tombs of the ancestors of those who worshipped Amun and hacked out all the inscriptions bearing the name Amun found within. Next the persecutors began to erase the name of Amun from the row of statues of the great nobles of the old and glorious

days of the Empire, which were arranged along the walls of the Karnak temple. Even the royal statues were burnt. This was for the reason that the royal name Amenhetep contained the name of the god Amen in it. This persecution was under the direction of Amenhetep IV. The stela, erected by his father in his mortuary temple, recording the erection of all the great buildings in honour of Amen by him, was also mercilessly destroyed. The names of all other gods except Aten and even the word "god" (note) were hammered out by the persecutors.

Amenhetep IV began to dislike his own name as it, like his father's, contained the name of the god Amen in it. He discarded it and in its place gave himself the name Akhenaten, (A-ka-ha-ne-ta-nu),¹ "Spirit, or glory of Aten." At the same time he changed his father's name from "Exalted One of the double plumes" to "Mighty Bull, beloved of Aten," and he titled himself "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, mighty one of sovereignty in the city of the Horizon of the Sun, the Horus of gold, who exalteth the name of the Disk, the King of the South and North, living in Maat, the lord of the two lands, the lords of crowns."²

1. Exact transliteration of this name is Khi-en-a-ta-nu.

2. Budge, Hist. of Egypt, IV, pp. 118-9.



Ka-Nekhet-
Ater-Meri,
The Horus
Name of
Akhenaten

The reformation continued with all its persecutions in Thebes, which was the center of Amen worship. As the Pharaoh Akhenaten was the Lord of Thebes, he was in the center of Amen worship and its great group of priests. These priests of Amen could not tolerate the presence and worship of the new god Aten. Soon the relationship between Pharaoh and the powerful body of priests of Amen became strained.

The sympathy of the great mass of the population of Thebes remained with the old religion and gods. The source of their living was through the great Temple of Amen there and from the pilgrims who came to worship in it. This left Akhenaten and his Aten worshippers in a serious situation as they were wholly unsupported by the above group. The Pharaoh realized the increasing strain between the two groups, therefore, found it impossible to reside in Thebes. In the fifth year of his reign, he founded a new capital on the eastern banks of the Nile river. This capital was called Akhetaten, (or El-Ataten) ☰ 4 ☷ which means "the Horizon of Aten." It was to the Aten worshippers

what Babylon was to the Babylonians, Jerusalem to the Hebrews, and Mecca to the Moslems.

The exact location of this city was 160 miles above the Delta and close to 300 miles below Thebes. This city was built on a spot which was uninhabited. According to Akhenaten's own statement, he built the city in a place which "belonged to no god, to no goddess".¹ Borchardt, a German excavator, refutes the statement of Pharaoh. This is found in *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 50:9 in the following words:

"....we may no longer assume that Amenhetep IV sought out for the foundation of His town an absolutely 'clean spot,' an area which had never been dwelt in."

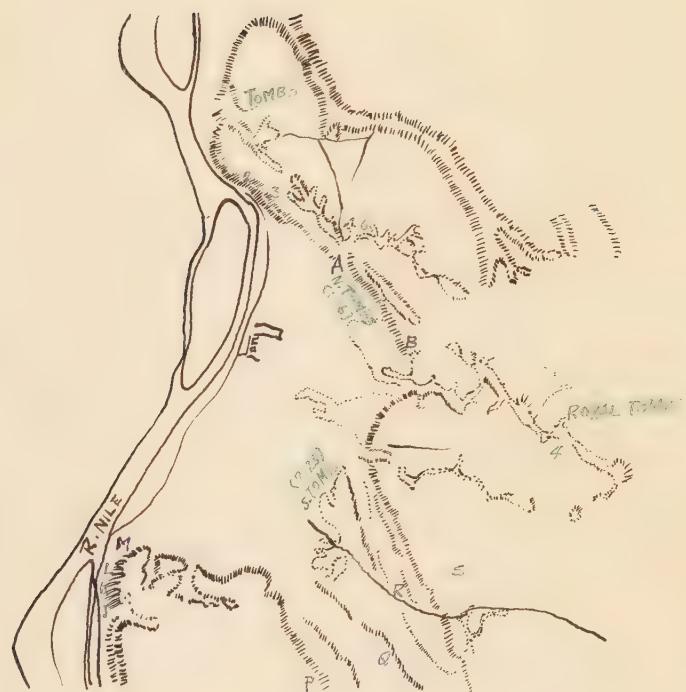
In his excavation of this site, Borchardt found traces of earlier building under the stratum of the city Akhetaten built.

According to the most recent excavator, T. Eric Peet, the director of the Egyptian Excavation Society, it has been proven that the existence of earlier building under the stratum is not a fact.²

1. Davies, E.-Amarna, V, pl. 29.

2. Peet, The City of Akhenaten, pt. I, p. 12. Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 7, p. 174f.

Aakhetaten



A.B.J.K.L.M.N.P.Q.R.S. = STELAE

2346 = TOMBS

N. DE G. DAVIES. THE ROCK TOMBS OF EL AMARNA.
PART II. PLATE I.

T. E. Peet makes valid the statement of Akhenaten concerning his building the city in a spot which "belonged to no gods."

In order to keep this city sacred to Aten, the Pharaoh erected fourteen stelae around it (cf. Plate I).

Each stela bore an inscription of the same kind. On one appears the following:

"Now, as for the area within the four landmarks,
from the (eastern) mountain (to the western
mountain) of Aahtaten opposite, it belongs to
my father, Aten, who is given life, forever and
ever; whether mountains, or cliffs, or marshes,
or '----' or uplands, or fields, or waters, or
towns, or shores, or people, or cattle, or trees,
or anything which Aten, my father, has made.....
.....I have made it for Aten, my father, forever
and ever."¹

On another appears the inscription:

"His majesty raised his hand to heaven, to Him
(Aten) who made him, even Aten, (saying: 'This is
my testimony,) forever, and this is my witness
forever, this landmark.....I have made

1. Breasted, Ancient Records, II, #966. .

Akhetaten for my father as dwelling for--,
I have (demar ked) Akhetaten on its south, on
its north, on its west, on its east. I shall
not pass beyond the south nor shall I pass be-
yond the northern landmark of (Akhetaten toward
the north)....., He has made its circuit for
His own-----; He (Aten) made His altar in
its midst, whereon I make offering to Him; this
is it!."¹

These stelae were as high as twenty-six feet. Practically
the same design appears on all of them. At the top of
each stela is a relief scene of the Pharaoh, queen or
either two or three daughters standing before an alter
and worshipping Aten. The rays of Aten, in the form of
hands each holding the symbol of life, are extended to
those who are worshipping him. (A. P.)

This city which was surrounded by the stelae was
divided into two distinct types of districts. The first
of these districts covers about one-third of the entire
area. The houses in this district are large beautiful
mansions of the wealthy with little huts of the poor
scattered between them. The second district, which is

1. Breasted, Ancient Records, II, #954.

called the "Eastern Village," on the other hands, is laid out in perfect form with all its streets running in the same direction either north to south, or east to west at equal intervals.¹

Within this city were built four temples. Bek, the royal architect was chosen by Akhenaten to make the plans and to erect them. These temples were dedicated to Aten by Akhenaten. They were all named "Shadow-of-Re"; the first one was in His own memory, the second one was in honour of his queen, the third one was in honour of his mother, Tii, and the fourth one was in honour of his daughter Mera-taten² (This name means "Beloved of Aten").

The following quotations show how some of these temples were dedicated to the above mentioned peoples:

1) KING

"The singers and musicians are rejoicing with joy in the broad-hall of the house: "Shadow-of-Re," thy temple in Akhetaten, the place where so thou art pleased."³ (This passage was found in the tomb of Merire.)

1. Peet, The City of Akhenaten, Part I, pp. 52-53, Plate XVI.

2. This was the first daughter of Akhenaten.

3. Breasted, A. R., II, #1018.

2) TIII

"Conducting the great king's-wife, '-----', Tii,
to show to her, her (Tiii's) "Shadow-of-Re."¹

(This passage was found in the tomb of Huy.)

3) Daughter MERETATEN

".....in the 'Shadow-of-Re' of the King's-
daughter.....Meretaten.....in the chamber
(called): 'Rejoicing-of-the-Aten' in the Aten-
temple in Aakhetaton." (British Museum 1,000)²

This period of the reformation was led by Akhenaten.

It culminated not only in the building of a new city in
dedication to Aten, but also in the field of theology.

The remainder of this chapter will be a discussion
of the Tombs of the worshippers of Aten and the Tombs of
the worshippers of other gods.

The religious ideas are revealed in the different
articles, inscriptions and pictures on the walls of the
tombs.

The tombs are divided into three groups in different
locations. The first group was built in the northern

1. Breasted, A. R., II, #1016.
2. op. cit. #1017.

cliff, the second group in the south-eastern cliff and the third group of tombs, very small in number were built in the ravine at the back of the plain. (Plate I.)

Even at the time of Akhenaten, the tombs were considered as being the resting place of the dead. It was a great satisfaction to know during one's lifetime that his tomb was being constructed. One can look in vain in these tombs of Aten worshippers for the figures of the old gods of Egypt, Re, Horus, Ptah, Osiris, Isis, Amubis, and the cycles of the gods of the dead and of Tuat (Underworld). Not a single ancient text, whether hymn, prayer, spell, incantation, litany, can be found. Nor could one find any trace of the conception of a tomb as a model of Tuat. In these tombs one cannot find any ideas of the Last Judgment which was prevalent in those days with Osiris as the god who rewards and punishes.

In the tomb of Mai the following hymn praising the city Akhetaten was found:

"The rays are upon thy glorious emanation, the ruler of truth, who came forth from eternity.

Thou grantest to him thy lifetime and thy years; thou hearest for him that which is in his heart.

He is thy beloved; thou makest him like Aten;

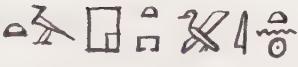
thy child, who came forth from thy rays, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkhepure-Wanre, who hath made for thee the mighty Ahetaten, great in loveliness, mistress of pleasant ceremonies, rich in possessions, the offerings to Re in her midst; at the sight of her, beauty there is rejoicing. She is lovely and beautiful; when one sees her, it is like a glimpse of heaven; her number cannot be calculated. When the Aten rises in her, he fills her with his rays and he embraces his beloved son, son of eternity who came forth from Aten, and offers the earth to him who placed him on his throne, causing the earth to belong to Irsu."¹

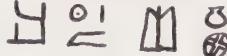
To show the spread of Aten worship under the command of Akhenaten, in other places besides his city Ahetaten, during this period of the reformation, the following temples were built:²

(1) Per-gem-Aten in Nubia at a place in the Third Cataract.

(2) Aakhetaten in Southern Anu (Hermonthis).

1. Breasted, A. R., II, #1000.
2. Budge, Tutankhamen, pp. 91-2.

(3) The House of Aten  in Memphis.

(4) Res-Re-em-Anu. 

(5) And also a temple to Aten in Syria, which is mentioned on one of the Tell el-Amarna tablets in the British Museum under the form of Hi-na-tu-na in cuneiform letters.

Inscriptions were found which belonged to Tutankhamen, the second Pharaoh after Akhenaten. These inscriptions described the chaotic conditions that existed all through Egypt during Akhenaten's reign. The revenues of the gods were diverted to the service of Aten. The figures of the other gods had disappeared from their thrones, their temples were deserted.

CHAPTER III

ATEN THEOLOGY

(A) Short Hymn to Aten

(English Translation, translated by Budge and Breasted)

Title¹

A Hymn of Praise to the Living Horus of the Two Horizons, who rejoiceth in the Horizon in his name of "Shu, who is in the Aten," the giver of life for ever and ever, by the King who liveth in truth, the Lord of Two Lands, Nefer-Kheperu-Re Ua-on-Re, who liveth in Truth, Lord of the crowns Akhenaten great in the duration of his life, giver of life for ever and ever.

Hymn to Aten:²

Thy rising is beautiful lord of Eternity;

Thou art shining, beautiful, strong;

Thy love is great and mighty,

Thy rays are cast into every face.

Thy glowing hue brings life to hearts,

When thou hast filled the Two Lands with thy love,

O God who himself fashioned himself,

1. This translation is taken from Budge's *Tutankhamen*, p. 116.

2. This was translated by Breasted and was taken from his book, "Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt," pp. 330, 331.

Maker of every land,

Creator of that which is upon it:

Men, all cattle large and small,

All trees that grow in the soil.

They live when thou dawnest for them,

Thou art the mother and the father of all that thou hast
made.

As for their eyes, when thou dawnest,

They see by means of thee.

Thy rays illuminate the whole earth,

And every heart rejoices because of seeing thee,

When thou dawnest as their lord.

When thou settest in the western horizon of the sky,

They sleep after the manner of the dead,

Their heads are wrapped up,

Their nostrils are stopped,

Until thy rising comes in the morning,

In the eastern horizon of the sky.

Their arms are uplifted in adoration of thee,

Thou makest hearts to live by thy beauty,

And men live when thou sendest forth thy rays,

Every land is in festivity:

Singing, music, and shoutings of joy,
Are in the hall of the Benben's house,
Thy temple in Akhet-Aten, the seat of truth,
Where with thou art satisfied.

Food and provision are offered therein;
Thy pure son performs thy pleasing ceremonies,
O living Aten, at his festal processions.

All that thou hast made dances before thee,
Thy August son rejoices, his heart is joyous,
O living Aten, born in the sky every day.

He begets his august son Wanre (Akhenaten)
Life himself without ceasing,
Son of Re, wearing his beauty, Nefer-Khepru-Re, Wanre
(Akhenaten)

Even me, thy son, in whom thou art satisfied,
Who bears thy name.

Thy strength and thy might abide in my heart,
Thou art Aten, living forever...

Thou hast made the distinct sky to rise therein,
In order to behold all that thou hast made,
While thou wast alone.

Millions of life are in thee to make them live
It is the breath of life in the nostrils to behold thy rays.

All flowers live and what grows in the soil,
Is made to grow because thou dawnest.
They are drunken before thee.
All cattle skip upon their feet;
The birds in the marsh fly with joy,
Their wings that were folded are spread,
Uplifted in adoration to the living Aten,
The maker....."

(B) Long Hymn to Aten¹

1) A Hymn of praise of Her-aakhuti, the living one, exalted
in the Eastern Horizon in his name of Shu who is in the
Aten, who liveth for ever and ever, the living and great
Aten, he who is in the Set-Festival, the lord of the circle,
the Lord of the Disk, the Lord of heaven, the Lord of earth,
the lord of the House of the Aten in Aakhut-Aten, 'of' the
King of the South and the North, who liveth in Truth, lord
of the Two Lands (i.e. Egypt), Nefer-kheperu-Re Ua-en-Re,
the son of Re, who liveth in Truth, Lord of Crowns, Akhenaten,
great in the period of his life, and of the great royal wo-
man whom he loveth, Lady of the Two Lands, Nefer-nereru-Aten

1. This was copied in N de G. Davies, El Amarna, Vol. VI,
pl. xxvii from the original, and translated by Erman
in German, and by Breasted and Budge in English. Budge's
translation seems to me the best one, so I quote here
Budge's translation from his book Tutankamen.

Neferiti, who liveth in health and youth for ever and ever.

2) He saith: Thy rising is beautiful in the horizon of heaven, O Aten, ordainer of life. Thou dost shoot up in the horizon of the East, thou fillest every land with thy beneficence. Thou art beautiful and great and sparkling, and exalted above every land. Thy arrows (rays) envelop (penetrate) everywhere all the lands which thou hast made.

3) Thou art as Re. Thou bringest them according to their number, thou subduest them for thy beloved son. Thou thyself art afar off, but thy beams are upon the earth; thou art in their faces, they admire thy goings.

Thou settest in the horizon of the west, the earth is in darkness, in the form of death. Men lie down in a booth wrapped up in cloths, one eye cannot see its fellow. If all their possessions which are under their heads be carried away they perceive it not.

4) Every lion emergeth from his lair, all the creeping things bite, darkness is a warm retreat (?). The land is in silence. He who made them hath set in his horizon. The earth becometh light, thou shootest up in the horizon, shining in the Aten in the day, thou scatterest the darkness. Thou

sendest out thine arrows (rays), the Two Lands make fes-
tival, men wake up, stand upon their feet, it is thou who
raisest them up. They wash their members, they take their
apparel,

5) and array themselves therein, their hands are stretched
out in praise at thy rising, throughout the land they do
their works.

Beasts and cattle of all kinds settle down upon the
pastures, shrubs and vegetables flourish, the feathered
fowl fly about over their marshes, their feathers praising
thy Ka. All the cattle rise up on their legs, creatures
that fly and insects of all kinds

6) spring into life, when thou risest up on them.

The boats drop down and sail up the river, likewise
every road openeth at thy rising, the fish in the river swim
towards thy face, thy beams are in the depths of the Great
Green (the Mediterranean and Red Seas).

Thou makest offspring to take form in women, creating
seed in men. Thou makest the son to live in the womb of
his mother, making him to be quiet that he crieth not;
thou art a nurse

7) in the womb, giving breath to vivify that which he hath made. When he droppeth from the womb.....on the day of his birth he openeth his mouth in the ordinary manner, thou providest his sustenance.

The young bird in the egg speaketh in the shell, thou givest breath to him inside it to make him live. Thou makest for him his mature form so that he can crack the shell being inside the egg. He cometh forth from the egg, he chirpeth with all his might, when he hath come forth from it (the egg), he walketh on his two feet.

O how many are the things which thou hast made!

They are hidden from the face, O thou

8) One god, like whom there is no other. Thou didst create the earth by thy heart (or will), thou alone existing, men and women, cattle, beasts of every kind that are upon the earth, and that move upon feet, all the creatures that are in the sky and that fly with their wings, and the deserts of Syria and Kesh (Nubia), and the Land of Egypt.

Thou settest every person in his place. Thou providest their daily food, every man having the portion allotted to him, thou dost compute the duration of his life. Their tongues are different in speech, their characteristics, and

9) likewise their skins in color, giving distinguishing marks to the dwellers in foreign lands.

Thou makest Hapi (the Nile) in the Tuat (Underworld), thou bringest it when thou wishest to make mortals to live, inasmuch as thou hast made them for thyself, their Lord who dost support them to the uttermost, O thou Lord of every land, thou shinest upon them, O Aten of the day, thou great one of majesty.

Thou makest the life of all remote lands. Thou settest a Nile in heaven, which cometh down to them.

10) It maketh a flood on the mountains like the Great Green Sea, it maketh to be watered their fields in their villages. How beneficent are thy plans, O Lord of Eternity! Nile in heaven art thou for the dwellers in foreign lands, and for all the beasts of the desert that go upon feet. Hapi (the Nile) cometh from the Tuat for the land of Egypt. Thy beams nourish every field; thou risest up and they live, they germinate for thee...

Thou makest the Seasons to develop everything that thou hast made:

11) The season of Pert so that they may refresh themselves, and the season Heh in order to taste thee. Thou hast made

the heaven which is remote that thou mayest shine
therein and look upon everything that thou hast made.
Thy being is one, thou shonest among thy creatures as the
Living Aten, rising, shining, departing afar off, return-
ing. Thou hast made millions of creations from thy one
self towns and cities, villages, fields, roads and rivers.
Every eye beholdeth thee confronting it. Thou art the Aten
of the day at its zenith.

12) At thy departure thine eye.....thou didst create
their faces so that thou mightest not see.....One thou
didst make.....Thou art in my heart. There is no other
who knoweth thee except thy son Nefer-kheperu-Re Ua-en-Re.
Thou hast made him wise to understand thy plans and thy
power. The earth came into being by thy hand, even as
thou hast created them. Thou risest, they live; thou set-
test, they die. As for thee, there is duration of life in
thy members, life is in thee. All eyes gaze upon thy beau-
ties until thou settest, when all labours are relinquished.
Thou settest in the West, thou risest, making to flourish
.....for the King. Every man who standeth on his foot,
since thou didst lay the foundation of the earth, thou hast
raised up for thy son who came forth from thy body, the
King of the South and the North, Living in Truth, Lord of

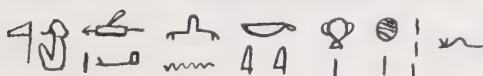
Crowns, Aakhenaten, great in the duration of his life
and for the Royal Wife, great of majesty, Lady of the Two
Lands, Nefer-neferu-Aten Nefertiti, living and young for
ever and ever.

These two hymns are the main source material of the fol-
lowing discussion.

As the main source material in this discussion of the theology of the religion of Aten, I will make reference to two particular hymns of praise among many which were written to Aten. One of these two hymns is longer than the other. The author of the longer hymn is unknown. Tradition ascribed Pharaoh Akhenaten as its author. The shorter hymn is generally known to have been written by Akhenaten, for the purpose of recitation. The name of Akhenaten appears in four different places within the hymn. In each case he is the reciter of the words which follow. This hymn was found in the tomb of Api at Tell el-Amarna. Its corrupt passages were replaced from the inscription of the same hymn found on the walls in the tomb of Tutu.¹

In the preceding chapter, the religious reformation under Akhenaten was discussed. The central change made, which differentiated the Amen theology from Aten theology, was in the belief that Aten was the only and one God. This is the central belief in the Theology of Aten.

"O thou One God, like whom there is no other...



"Thou art along () existing"

(Long Hymn, line 8)

The conception held of the dwelling place of Aten by

1. Budge, Tutkhamen, p. 116, ft. note.

those who worshipped him was that Aten was remote from them and lived in the heavenly realm.

"Thou hast made the heaven which is remote that

"Thou mayest shine therein" (Long Hymn, line 11)

The pharaoh in the minds of the Egyptian people of those days, was, the symbol and expression of power and strength.

Thus the symbol of Aten, which was disk, had on top of it, the sacred uraeus-cobra, which was the symbol of royalty. The name Aten was always in cartouches like the royal names. These evidences indicate that another outstanding characteristic of Aten was that of a God of strength and power.

Up to this time, the Gods of the Egyptian people were localized. In the worship of Aten, this idea was replaced by the idea of the universality of Aten. The following will show the existence of this idea.

"Thou dost shoot up in the horizon of the East,

Thou fillest every land with the beneficence."

(Long Hymn 1.2)

"O Thou Lord of every land." (Long Hymn 1.9)

The words "Lord of every land" was not confined to land as

a piece of ground, but it included its inhabitants. Aten loved the "foreigner," those of other lands, as His own. This characteristic of a God made its appearance for the first time.

When the idea of the universality of Aten was conceived, from it developed another idea. This was the idea that Aten was the Creator. In the minds of the people, since Aten was the God of the whole universe, they concluded that He must be the one who created the universe.

"Thou hast made the heaven" (Long Hymn 1.11)

"Maker of every land, Creator of that which is upon it; men, all cattle, large and small. All trees that grow in the soil" (Short Hymn)

"The young bird in the egg speaketh in the shell, Thou givest breath to him inside it to make him life. Thou makest for him his mature form so that he can crack the shell (being) inside the egg. He cometh forth from the egg, he chirpeth with all his might, when he hath come forth from it (the egg), he walketh on his two feet. O how many are the things which thou hast made." (Long Hymn, Line 7)

As for man, the Egyptian psalmist sang, "Thou makest offspring to take form in women, creating seed in men. Thou

makest the son to live in the womb of his mother,
making him to be quiet that he crieth not; thou art
a nurse" (Long Hymn, Line 6)

Aten also created the seasons of the year.

"Thou (Aten) makest the seasons to develop
everything that Thou hast made: The season
of Pert (Nov. 16 - March 16) so that they may
refresh themselves, and the season Heh (March 16 -
Nov. 16) in order to taste Thee" (Long Hymn, Line 10,11)

Aten, as the Creator, loved all creatures and above
all, man. Although His dwelling place was in the heavens,
Aten was thought of by His worshippers as deeply concerned
with earthly things such as the trees and flowers, the birds
in the air, the beast of the field, and man.

"Thou thyself art Alone, but there are millions of
power of life in thee to make them (thy creatures)
life. Breath of life is it to their nostrils to
see thy beams. Buds burst into flower, and the
plants which grow on the waste lands send up shoots
at thy rising; they drink themselves drunk before
thy face." (Short Hymn)

This idea is far from logical. How could Aten who

dwelt in the heavens, be so closely related with the being on earth? This question can be answered since the nature of Aten was originated from their knowledge of the function and nature of the sun. The central portion of thy symbol for Aten consists of a disk. This disk was taken from their symbol of the sun. In addition to the uraeus cobra at the top of the disk, there were arms extending from it in all directions with the symbol of life (ankh) in hand. These arms were illustrating the rays of the sun.

"Thou, Thyself, art afar off, but Thy beams are upon the earth." (Long Hymn, Line 3)

The arms, of the symbol, stood for a definite characteristic of Aten. This characteristic was His kindly love and care towards the whole universe and all that lived in it. This idea was derived from the heat of the rays of the sun which was useful in the growth and existence of all life on the universe.

"Thou settest every person in his place. Thou providest their daily food, every man having the position allotted to him, thou dost compute the duration of his life. Their tongues are different in speech, their characteristics (or forms) and

likewise their skins in colour, giving distinguishing marks to the dwellers in foreign lands."

(Long Hymn, Lines 8-9)

Aten was addressed as a person in the hymns written to praise him.

"Thou are the mother and the father of all that thou hast made." (Short Hymn)

"Beasts and cattle of all kinds settle down upon the pastures, shrubs and vegetables flourish, the feathered fowl fly about over the marshes, their feathers praising Thy ka (Person)." (Long Hymn, Line 5)

We learn through the hymns that Akhenaten was addressed as the son of Aten.

"The Son of living Aten"¹

"Grant me to kiss the pure ground, to come forth in thy (Akhenaten) presence with offerings for thy father, Aten, of that which thy (Akhenaten's) ka gives...."²

"There is no other who knoweth thee, (Aten) except thy son Nefer-kheperu-Re Ua-en-Re (Akhenaten).

Thou (Aten) hast made him (Akhenaten) wise to under-

1. Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna, Vol. I, pl. xxxviii.

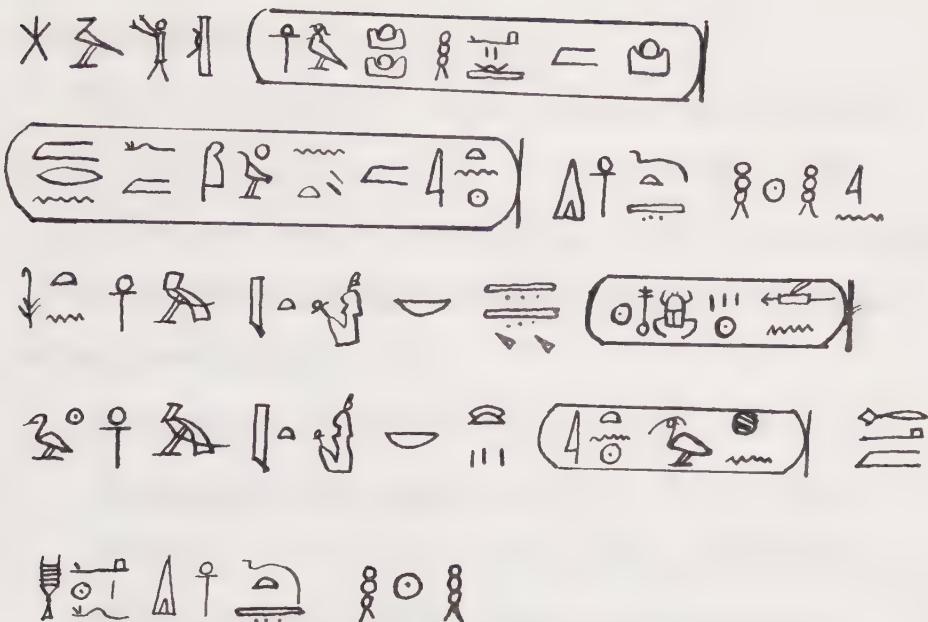
2. Breasted, A. R., II, #996.

stand Thy (Aten) plans and Thy power." (Short Hymn)

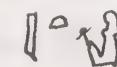
It is surprising that a spiritual conception of Aten existed. For example, these words are found in one of the hymns: "Thou art in my heart." (Long Hymn, Line 12)

The advanced stage of the theology of Aten was described by one author as "Undoubtedly at no other period before or after the reign of Akhenaten do we find such insistence upon the love of the supreme god, and in this respect we are able to claim Akhenaten's religion as an astonishing advance on the ideas of orthodox Egypt, and in fact of the rest of the nearer East until developed Judaism."¹

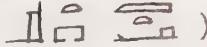
1. Shorter, Introduction to Egyptian Religion, pp. 104-5.



("A Hymn of Praise to the living Horus of the Two Horizons, who rejoiceth in the horizon in his name of "Shu, who is in the Aten," the giver of life for ever and ever, by the king who liveth in truth, the Lord of the Two Lands, Nef-erkheperu-Re Ua-en-Re, Son of Re, who liveth in Truth, Lord of the Crowns, Aakhenaten, great in the duration of his life, giver of life for ever and ever.")

In His title which He used in the "Short Hymn of Aten" as shown above, Akhenaten, expressed Himself as "the Pharaoh who liveth in Truth" and also "Son of Re who liveth in truth." The noun Truth () is in the feminine gender, and the word is symbolized by a figure of

a woman which is its determinative.

The city Aakhetaten, built by Akhenaten in dedication to Aten, was called "the Seat of Truth." () This shows that Aten was believed to be the personification of Truth. The following hymn of praise found in the tomb of Eye, verifies this:

"I (Eye) am at the head of His Majesty (Akhenaten). He (Akhenaten) put Truth in my body, and my abomination is lying. I know that Wanre (Akhenaten) rejoiceth in it (Truth), this Lord (Akhenaten) wise like Aten, knowing the truth. He doubles to me my favors in silver and gold; I am first of the officials, at the head of the people.....the lordme. I have carried out His teaching."¹

Another hymn further verifies this.

"O lord (Akhenaten), who forms the people, and creates duration, who performs the pleasant obligation to His favorite, (whose) heart is satisfied with truth, whose abomination is lying. How prosperous is he who hears thy teaching of life; he is satisfied with seeing thee (Aten) without ceasing, and his two eyes see Aten every day."²

1. Breasted, A. R., Vol. 2, #993.

2. op. cit. #994.

It is difficult to judge the moral standard of the people of ancient Egypt. This is due to the number of centuries that have passed as well as the scarcity of material evidences and records that are available. These evidences can be gathered only from the remains of the tombs built in those early days.

"I have not done wrong to me,
I did not oppress relatives,
I did not commit deceit in the palace of justice,
I did not know transgression"

This passage is from the "Book of the Dead," Chapter CXXV. Although these words express an advanced idea of the moral conduct of the people, we must not conclude that they are the evidences of the actual existence of the moral of that time. Passages similar in content to the above were found in many tombs. The Egyptians of this time had a definite conception of the Last Judgment, with Osiris as the chief judge, therefore, in their tombs, they wrote these passages of confessions. Such being the case, the words and thoughts were the result of conscientious expression of the highest form of morality, not necessarily existing, but hoped for.

"Follow thy desire as long as thou livest. Do not more than is told thee. Shorten not the time of following desire. It is an abomination to encroach upon the time thereof. Take no care daily beyond the maintenance of thy house. When possessions come, follow desire, for possessions are not complete when he (the owner) is harassed."¹

Such words as these were found in the most popular songs of the time these were sung at banquets, gatherings, and in every day course of the day. Pleasure in life and enjoyment of all, until the day for departure arrives to the land from which none return, was the prevalent thought of the people.

In the worship of Aten, there appears no conception of the Last Judgment nor is there a place for Osiris. There was, however, the idea of the personification of Truth in Aten as well as the idea that Aten was an ethical God. The following prayer appears in the tomb of Tutu, "I am the favorite servant, who hears His (Akhenaten's) teaching. I will speak truth to His majesty, for I know that He lives therein.....I do not that which His

1. Breasted, Dawn of Conscience, p. 136.

majesty hates, for my abomination is lying in my body,
----- I have set up truth to His majesty for I know
that He lives therein. Thou art Re, begetter of Truth;
.....I took not the reward of lying, nor expelled the
truth for the violent."¹

The forms of Aten worship consisted mainly in the use of hymn as the singing of praises. The next important form of worship was in the manner in which the sacrifices of food and drink were offered. The priests carried out these forms of worship in the temples for themselves and for the people.

The vast number of hymns of praise that have been found in the tombs, indicate the fact that music had a very important place in Aten worship.

An inscription found in the chapel of the tomb of Meriere stated that:

"that singers and musicians-----were in the court of the House of Beben (Temple) in Aakhetaten."²

Other plates from the excavation of Davies show: First, the existence of a blind choir.³ Second, the existence of a group of musicians playing musical instruments of that

1. Breasted, A. R., Vol. 2, #1013.

2. Davies, El Amarna, Part I, plate xxxvii.

3. Ibid, plate xxi.

time.¹ Evidently, the choir sang the hymns to the accompaniment of the instruments. These musicians did not play and sing just during the services in the temples, but at all times during the day.

Special chanters, four males in number, also played an important part in Aten worship in the temples. While the king and queen burned the incense in the pans placed on the food-offerings, the chanters sang while clapping their hands to the time of the music. This occurred in two different places, once in the great court of the larger temple,² and the other, in the outer court of the smaller temple, where they stood near the blind vocalists and instrumentalists.

The presentation of food and drink offerings was closely associated with the burning of incense and pouring out of libation.³ The ritual acts accompanying the presentation of these offerings were adopted from the ancient form of worship. The main differences in the representation of the various ceremonies are: First, the queen is shown acting with the Pharaoh on equal terms. Secondly, there were no cultus-images to anoint in Aten worship. In the place, ointments in alabaster jars were placed on

1. Davies, El Amarna, Part I, plage xi.

2. op. cit., Part II, plate xviii.

3. Ibid, pl. v.

His altar.¹ Thirdly, the offering of flowers played a more important role in Aten worship.

The procedure of a funeral rite can be surmised by observing the scenes on the walls of the Tomb of Huya,² who was a high official in the personal service of Tiy, the queen-mother.

In these scenes the mummy of Huya is set up apparently outside the tomb, wearing the one in which the ointment was placed. The mummy had the formal beard. Behind the mummy, his wife and other women are lamenting, while in front, a sun-priest pours out the libation from a vase on the offerings that are heaped up. The offerings consisted of meat, vegetables, and flowers. The whole scene has some similarity with the ancient ceremony of "Opening the Mouth." The queer part is that there are no pictures of the sacred instruments used in that service. This indicates that the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth" had ceased during this period.

Above the picture, the following inscription appears:

"May there be performed for thee an 'Offering-which-the-King-Gives,' consisting of thy bread and beer of thy house, may there be poured for thee libation of water from thy cistern.....may food be placed

1. Davies, El Amarna, Part I, pl. xx.

2. Ibid, Part III, pl. xxii.

for thee upon the altar for thy ka.....may thy name be remembered, O Superintendent of the Royal Harem and Treasurer Huya!"¹

The primitive conception that the food offering to the dead was actually consumed by the dead was still in evidence in Aten worship. In the tomb of Panehsy, chief serviter of Aten, a prayer was found which contained words to this effect: Allow me "to receive bread that has gone up into the Presence at every festival of the Living Aten in the House of Beben" ( A name of the Aten-temple).

The pictures in the report of the excavation by Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna, show the existence of the funeral cortege chariot and tomb furniture, such as beds, chairs, wine-jars, etc. which indicate that there was a definite idea of a physical life after death in which the material things would be of use.

The prayer found in the tomb of Panehsy, mentioned above, contained these words: He prays to Nefertith, the Queen, for "an entrance in favour and a going forth in love, and a good remembrance in the presence of the king and among His courts."²

1. Davies, El Amarna, Part III, pl. xxii.

2. Ibid, Part II, pl. ix.

This verifies the above statement of the conception of life after death, especially, the fact that their belief was in the continuation of life as it has existed on earth, even in the form of government with the king, queen, courts, etc.

CHAPTER IV

FACTORS THAT LED TO ATEN MONOTHEISM

This chapter will deal with the factors or influences which gave Akhenaten the inspiration to begin a religious reformation and to inculcate the Aten worship in Egypt.

As stated in the first chapter, during the reign of Thotmose III, Egypt made great expansions. The walls at Karnak tell the story of nearly twenty years of his warfare. Thotmose III conquered many cities and kingdoms of Western Asia and formed them into a great Empire. His war fleets carried his power even to the Aegean sea and one of his generals became the governor of the Aegean island. Breasted described the Empire of this period as follows:

"The Egyptian supremacy is undisputed from the Greek Islands, the coasts of Asia Minor, and the highlands of the Upper Euphrates on the north, to the Fourth Cataract of the Nile on the south."¹

As the Egyptian Empire expanded, it was natural that the dominion of Amen also expanded. This made Amen the god of the civilized world of that time.

1. Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, p. 313.

The universal rule of Amen, became more prominent at the time of Amenhetep III, the father of Akhenaten. The hymn written to Amen by the twins Suti and Her, the architects who were employed by Amenhetep III, at Thebes, illustrates this fact.

- 1) A Hymn of Praise to Amen when he riseth as Horus of the Two Horizons by Suti, the Overseer of the Works of Amen, and by Her, the Overseer of the Works of Amen. They say: Homage to thee, Re, Beautiful One of Every Day! Thou shootest up
- 2) at sunrise without fail, Khepera, great one of works. Thy radiance is in thy face, thou Unknown. As for shining metal it doth not resemble thy splendours.
- 3) Being designed thou didst mould into form thy members; giving birth, but he was not born; One by himself by reason of his power, Traverser of Eternity, He who is over the ways of millions of years, maintaining his Divine Form.
- 4) As are the beauties of the celestial regions even so are thy beauties. More brilliant is thy complexion than that of heaven. Thou sailest across the heavens, all faces look at thee as thou goest, though thou thyself art

hidden from their faces.

5) Thou shovest thyself at break of day in beams of light, strong is thy Seget Boat under Thy Majesty. In a little day thou journeyest over a road of millions and hundreds of thousands

6) of minutes. Thy day with thee passeth, thou settest.

The hours of the night likewise thou dost make to fulfill themselves. No interruption taketh place in thy toil. All eyes

7) direct their gaze upon thee, they cease not to do so. When Thy Majesty setteth, thou makest haste to rise up early in the morning, thy sparkling rays flash in the eyes.

8) Thou settest in Manu, whereupon men sleep after the manner of the dead.

Hail to thee, O Aten of the day, thou creator of mortals and Maker of their life! Hail

9) thou Great Hawk whose feathers are many coloured, thou god Kheprer, who didst raise theyself up from non-existence! He created himself, he was not born, Horus the Elder, dweller in Nut. Men cry out joyfully at

10) his rising at his setting likewise. He is the fashioner of what the ground produceth, Khnem Amen of the Henmemet conqueror of the Two Lands, from the great one to the little one. Thou Mother splendid of

11) Gods and men, artificer, gracious one, exceedingly great, progressing in her work. The cattle cannot be counted. The strong herdsman, driving his strong beasts, thou art their byre. He

12) provideth their life, springing up, traversing the course of Khepera, planning his birth, raising up his beautiful form in the womb of Nut. He illumineth the Two Lands with his Aten, he is the primeval substance of the Two Lands. He made himself.

13) He looketh on what he hath made, the Lord One, bringing along into captivity countless lands every day, observing those who walk about upon the earth; shining in the sky he performeth transformations by day. He maketh the seasons from the months. He loveth the heat of summer.

14) He loveth the cold of winter. He maketh every member of the body to droop. He embraceth every land. The apes

cry out in adoration of him when he riseth daily.

15) Suti, overseer of works, and Her, overseer of works each saith, "I was the director of thy throne and overseer of works in thy sanctuary which as was right, thy beloved son, the Lord of the Two Lands, Nebmaatra, the giver of life, make for thee. My Lord appointed me to be the officer in charge of thy monuments.

16) I kept watch diligently. I served the office of director of thy monuments strenuously, performing the laws of thy heart. I knew how to make thee to rest upon Truth, making thee great to do it upon the earth.

17) I was performing it and thou didst make me great. Thou didst set the favours of me on the earth in the Apts (Karnak). I was among thy followers when thou didst ascend the throne. I am truth who abominateth false words and deeds.

18) I never took pleasure in any conversation wherein were words of exaggeration and lies. My brother was like myself. I took pleasure in his affairs; he came forth from the womb with me on this day.

19) Suti, the overseer of the works of Amen in the Southern Apt (Luxor), and Her, say: I was director over the western side, and he was director over the eastern side; we two were directors of the great monuments

20) in the Apt, more particularly those of Thebes, the City of Amen. Grant thou to me an old age in thy city, and in thy beneficence make me a burial in Amenett, that place of rest of heart.

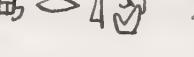
21) Let me be placed among thy favoured ones, departing in peace. Grant thou to me sweet air when.....and the wearing of bandlets on the day of the festival of Ug.

The hymn of praise of Amen quoted, expressed the conception of Amen as the Creator and Ruler of the world. The similarity of this hymn to that of Aten is in the above mentioned conceptions. The outstanding difference lies in the fact that in the hymn to Amen, other Gods are mentioned, such as Aten, Khepera, and Nut. The hymns to Aten, on the other hand, contain the name of no other Gods. This exclusive characteristic of Aten shows that Amen worship had little influence on Aten worship.

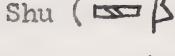
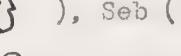
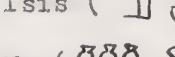
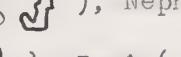
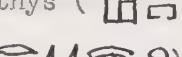
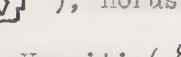
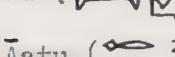
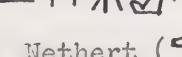
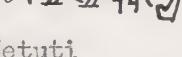
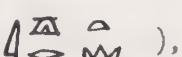
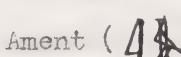
Universalism is the opposite from the exclusion of other Gods. Its tendency is to absorb other gods, and in

such a process, identify them with a central God. Such was the case with Amen.

An example of this identification of Gods which occurred in Egypt can be seen in the so-called Seventy-five Praises of Re, which were found inscribed on the walls of the royal tombs of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties at Thebes.

"Praise be to thee O Re,.....thou makest thy creation in the form of the God Tant ()thou art indeed the body of Temu () O Re, the hidden support of Anpu () thou are indeed the body of Khepera ()"

Thus Re was identified with the following and others:

Shu (), Tefnut (), Seb (), Isis (), Nephthys (), Horus (), Nu (), Remi (), Huaaiti (), Aatu (), Nethert (), Netuti (), Akert (), Ament (), Aakebi (), Khenti-Amenti (), Mati (), Tebati (), Serqi (), Seshem-Nethert (), Shai (), Sekhen-Ba ()

1. Budge, The Gods of Egyptians, Vol. 1, pp. 339-348.

Such was the case with Amen. He was identified with Re and began to be known as Amen-Re. By this identification, Amen absorbed all the attributes of Re and thus strengthened himself and attained a higher position among the various gods. Shorter discussed this in the following manner:

"No deity who aspired to the position of State god could hope for success unless that position was in harmony with the vast body of solar doctrine on which the kingship of Egypt was built, and to accomplish this end there was only one way, to identify him with the sun-god himself."¹

The tendency of Amen Theology was far from the monotheistic tendency of Aten Theology. Akhenaten, in His conception of Aten, might have been influenced by Amen theology in regarding Aten as being the Ruler of the World. His strong emphasis on the monotheistic character of Aten, however, must have had its origin from an entirely different source.

To explain the origin of monotheism of Akhenaten, the nature of the Aten before the time of Akhenaten must be considered. The origin of God Aten is wholly obscure.

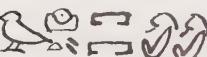
1. Shorter, An Introduction to Egyptian Religion, p. 9.

What is known is that He was a provincial form of the Sun-god who was worshipped in one of the little towns in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis.

Such being the case, the original form of Aten worship could not give the influence toward Monotheistic reformation which was carried in by Akhenaten. But as discussed in the first chapter, Thotmose IV, in His accession of the throne, received assistance from the Heliopolitan priests and in return, he helped in the recovering of the worship at the God of Heliopolis. His son Amenhetep III, the father of Akhenaten followed the same policy. Therefore, the new religious force must have originated in Heliopolis.

Heliopolitan Temu-Harmachis or another form of Tem, was the name of the God whose worship Thotmose IV started to recover. According to M. Lefebure, Tem or Temu (𓂋𗃼 or 𓂋𗃼) was the first God in Egypt to have the form of a man. He was the first living man-god known to the Egyptians.¹ Most gods in Egypt were given the forms of birds and animals. Horus was given the form of a hawk. Thus, Tem worship was a more advanced form of religion.

1. Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. IX, p. 175.
Budge, Gods of Egyptians, Vol. I, p. 349.

The characteristics of Tem changed as time went on. A passage in the pyramid text of Pepi I,¹ shows that Tem was regarded as the father of the human race and He had great power over the dead. In the fifth and sixth Dynasties, when the worship of Re was the most influential among the Egyptians, the priests of Re united Tem with Re under the name Re-Tem (○ ). Later, during the reign of Thotmose IV, Tem was believed and worshipped as the rising sun. The name Tem-Harmachis ( ) shows this clearly as he was known as the God of the rising-sun.

The hymn to Tem, which was found in the Papyrus of Muthetep² expresses this idea very well. The hymn is as follows:

"O Re-Tem, in thy splendid progress thou
risest, and thou settest as a living being in
the glories of the western horizon;.....Thou
shinest with thy beams upon the path of Re-stau.
Thou openest up the path of the double Lion-god,
thou settest the gods upon their thrones, and the
spirits in their abiding-places. The heart of

1. British Museum, 1. 201.

Budge, Gods of Egyptians, Vol. I, p. 350.

2. British Museum, No. 10,010, sheet 5.

Naarerf (a region of the Underworld) is glad
when Re setteth; the heart of Naarerf is glad
when Re setteth....."¹

Through this hymn, the similarity of Aten and Tem
is noticeable. Aten was also a sun-god who gave light and
life to the creatures on earth. This may show a similar-
ity, but, Tem was identified with other gods as was Amen.
Tem worship could not have been the one from which the
monotheistic movement originated.

The family lineage of Akhenaten has been discussed in
the first chapter. In it was discussed the Mitannian ele-
ment that was in his blood as his great grandmother and
grandmother were from the Mitannian emperor's family.
Also his father, Amenhetep III, received Gilukhipa, the
daughter of Shutarna, the king of Mitanni, as his inferior
wife. When Gilukhipa first came to Egypt, she brought
"her chief women, 317 in number" from Mitanni. Thus rec-
ognition must be given to the influence of the Mitannian
religion on Akhenaten. Budge describes the coming of
Mutemua, the grandmother of Akhenaten, to Egypt in the
following words:

"The princess (Mutemua) would naturally come to

1. Budge, Gods of Egyptians, Vol. I, pp. 351-2.

Egypt escorted by a number of her people, and it is very probable that she and her followers introduced into Egypt religious views that were more in harmony with those of the priests of Heliopolis than of the votaries of Amen.¹

In another passage Budge wrote:

"If the princess of Mitanni who married Thotmose IV carried her worship of them into Egypt, it is easy to believe that her religious sympathy and support would be given to Tem and his cognate gods, and not to Amen."²

This leads to another important point. What could have been the religion brought by the Mitannian princess and did it have any influence on Akhenaten?

In 1906 the late Professor Winckler discovered the now famous archive of cuneiform tablets at Boghaz Koi in Asia Minor. These inscriptions mentioned the Mitanni people.

Among the letters found at El-Amarna in Egypt in the winter of 1887-88 there were some letters from Dushratta, a king of Mitanni, to Amenhetep IV of Egypt. One of these

1. Budge, *Tutankhamen*, pp. 20-21.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

was in the Mitannian language, and has been deciphered by Messerschmidt,¹ and Bork.²

These inscriptions revealed the fact that gods were invoked in the solemnization of treaties. By the appearance of names of the gods, Indra, Varuna, and Mithra, the treaty between Mitanni and Hittites was solemnized. These gods were originally Aryan gods.

The ancient Aryan people were divided into two groups. One group was known as Iranians. They remained in their own country, which was located on the north of Hindu-kush. Later this group moved westward as far as Media and Persia. Here they came in contact with the Mitannian people and influenced them in their religion.

The definite period in which the Iranians came in contact with the Mitannians is yet unknown. However, in the fifteenth century B.C. the Mitannian rulers of the upper Euphrates and eastward bore Iranian names. This serves as the evidence that these two groups of people must have come together before this time.

The other group moved southward and entered the valley of the Indus. From there, they went into Punjab, which

1. *Mittelungen der vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, 1899, Heft 4.
2. *Die Mitannisprache*, in the "Mitteilungen der vorderasiatische Gesellschaft," 1909.

is in the northern part of India. There, they became the forefathers of the Aryo-Indians.

Although it was the Iranians who came in contact with the Mitannians, the influence of Aryan religion on the Mitannians must be studied by referring to the Aryo-Indians. This is for the reason that evidences cannot be found except the fact that both the Iranians and Aryo-Indians were originally of the same Aryan race. The Aryo-Indians left more evidences that can be used as source material in compiling the characteristics of the Aryan religion. Among these, the Rigveda serves as the oldest and the most valuable.

Among the Aryan Gods, Indra, Varuna, and Mithra, scholars have come to believe that Indra was the God of the "Storm."¹ Bergaigne, a French scholar, who translated the Rigveda in his own language, claims that the original nature of India was that of a Sun-God or the God of the Lightning.² He quoted the following passage from the Rigveda to prove this: "Indra did-----like a sun" (Rig. ii, 11, 20).

E. W. Hopkins, a scholar of Sanskrit and Indian religion,

1. Mythology of All Races, Vol. VI, p. 15.

2. Bergaigne, La Religion Védique, Vol. II, pp. 159, 161, 166, 187.

agrees with Bergaigne on this point. In his book, The Religions of India, he states "According to the varying fancies of the poets, ----- he (Indra) is like the sun in brilliancy, and like the dawn in beauty, -----as the giver of rain which feeds, he creates the plants."¹

In Rigveda x, 89, 12, Indra was expressed as the light of Dawn. Such being the case, there is much similarity in characteristics between Indra and the Egyptian Gods, Tem and Aten.

Varuna and Mithra, the other two gods who were mentioned in the treaty of Mitanni and the Hittites, were the sky gods. In Rigveda iv, 13, 2-5, the following passages are found:

"On their wanted path go Varuna and Mithra when
in the sky they cause to rise Surya (Sun) whom
they made to avert darkness."

In another passage Varuna is spoken of as having established the sun "like a tree" and as having "made a path for it" (i.24, 7-8). In Rigveda i. 25 appears a beautiful hymn dedicated to Varuna, which is as follows:

"However we, who thy people are,
O Varuna, thou shining god,
Thy order injure, day by day,

1. Hopkins, Religions of India, p. 93.

Yet give us over nor to death,
Nor to the wrath of (foe) incensed.
Thy mind for mercy we release--
As charioteer, a fast-bound steed--
By means of song, O Varuna.

* * * * *

(It is Varuna) who knows the track
Of birds that fly within the air,
And knows the ships upon the flood;
Knows, too, the (god) of order firm,
The twelve months with their progeny,
And e'en which month is later born;
Knows, too, the pathway of the wind,
The wide, the high, the mighty (wind),
And knows who sit above (the wind).

(God) of firm order, Varuna
His place hath ta'en within (his) home
For lordship, he, the very strong.
Thence all the things that are concealed
He looks upon considering
Whate'er is done and to be done.
May he, the Son of Moundlessness,
The very strong, through every day

Make good our paths prolong our life.

Bearing a garment all of gold,
In jewels clothed is Varuna,
And round about him sit his spies;
A god whom injurers injure not,
Nor cheaters cheat among the folk,
Nor any plotters plot against;
Who for himself 'mid (other) men
Glory unequalled gained, and gains
(Such glory) also 'mid ourselves.

Far go my thoughts (to him), as go
The eager cows that meadows seek,
Desiring (him), the wide-eyed (god).

Together let us talk again,
Since now the offering sweet I bring,
By thee beloved, and like a priest
Thou eat'st.

I see the wide-eyed (god) !
I see his chariot on the earth,
My song with joy hath he received.

Hear this my call, O Varuna,
Be merciful to me today,
For thee, desiring help, I yearn.

Thou, wise one, art of everything,
The sky and earth alike, the king;
As such upon thy way give ear,
And loose from us the (threefold) bond;
The upper bond, the middle, break,
The lower, too, that we may live.

In his remarks concerning this hymn E. W. Hopkins states:
"In the portrait of such a god as this, one comes very
near to monotheism."¹

Indra, Varuna, and Mithra, the sun god and the
sky gods, previously mentioned, have much possibility of
being monotheistic in nature. It is easy to arrive at
the conclusion that these monotheistic tendencies of the
Aryan gods greatly influenced in the forming of Aten's
characteristics. This must have come from the Mitannian
princess Mutemua, the wife of Thotmose IV.

Aside from the religious influence of the Mitannians, there appears another, which is of equal importance

1. Hopkins, *The Religion of India*, pp. 62-3.

which is Semitic. W. Budge in his own words introduces this point as follows: ".....there is no reason doubting that His (Akhenaten) mind had been led to take such theological views through the teachings of His mother, Tiiii."¹

Tiiii was the wife of Amenhetep III. Her great influence on her husband in many matters has already been discussed in the first chapter. After the death of her husband, Tiiii arranged Akhenaten in succeeding to the throne of Egypt as well as his marriage to Neferteth. When Akhenaten completed the founding of Aakhetaten, the city in honour of Aten, Tiiii lived in it. Later one of the temples of Aten was built by Akhenaten in her honour. The fact that Tiiii visited the temples of Aten was recorded in the walls of the temples. Tiiii was not of foreign birth but her father Yuyu belonged to a Semitic race. It is probable that she was brought up under her father's influence, thus transmitting Semitic influence on Aten theology.

Attempts have been made to show that the word Aten is only another form of the name Adon, a Semitic word which means "Lord." Etymological connection between these two words cannot be found. For the reason that the word Aten meant the sun-disk in the pyramid-text which was during

1. Budge, History, IV, p. 116.

a comparatively earlier period from the days in which Tii lived. But the conception of God as the Lord, Adon or Baal, which was the outstanding characteristic of the Semitic religion, might have had some influence on Akhenaten. This is especially so in reference to the close relationship between Akhenaten and His God Aten.

The monotheistic characteristic of Aten theology can be explained by the absolute devotion of Akhenaten to Aten. Examples of this fact are seen in the following passages from the Short Hymn to Aten written by Akhenaten Himself: "I am thy (Aten's) son," "Thy son (Akhenaten) is sanctified to perform the things which thou willest, O Thou Aten, when he sheweth himself in the appointed processions."

The various kinds of influences have been discussed in the formation of Akhenaten's monotheistic theology. These influences have their places but Akhenaten's own genius and personality must not be neglected.

Akhenaten was dreamer and an idealist. This is proved by the portraits which were drawn on the walls and stelae during his reign. According to Shorter's description: "His forehead was receding, and his head projected far back suggesting that he was hydrocephalus; his features

were thin and the jaw long and drooping, his arms were slender and his body and legs resembled those of a woman, while the deep sunken eyes smouldered with internal fires above a languid and sensuous smile."¹

His personality can be surmised through the above description of his physical characteristics.

At the time when he succeeded the throne, Egypt was in the midst of a great political crisis. According to Breasted's description: "No nation ever stood in direr need of a strong and practical ruler than did Egypt at the death of Amenhetep III."²

But without considering the chaotic situation which existed, this young pharaoh devoted his whole time and energy in organizing and centralizing the worship of Aten. Breasted stated the following: ".....he gradually developed ideals and purposes which make him the most remarkable of all the pharaohs, and the first individual in human history."³

1. Shorter, Introduction to Egyptian Religion, pp. 94-5.

2. Breasted, History of Egypt, p. 355.

3. Ibid, p. 356.

CONCLUSION

After the death of Akhenaten, Sekere who had married the eldest daughter of Akhenaten, ascended the throne because Akhenaten had no son of his own to succeed him. But unfortunately, Sekere had not the ability to rule the Empire which was in a chaotic condition. After his obscure and short reign at Aakhetaten, Sekere's name disappeared from the official records and he was followed by Tutankhaten,¹ who was also a son-in-law of Akhenaten.

The chief event during the reign of Tutankhaten, was in his re-establishment of Thebes as the capital of Egypt. Akhetaten had been the capital, where the pharaoh's courts had been located for about twenty years.

Tutankhaten was forced to make this change, due chiefly to the growth of Amen worshippers. The power of the adherents to Amen increased among the ruling class, priests, politicians, and soldiers, which put a heavy pressure on Tutankhaten.

Although the pressure was relieved, Tutankhaten continued his worship of Aten. He even repaired the temple of Aten for this purpose. The priests of Amen forced Tutankhaten

1. This form of the Pharaoh's name occurs on a stela which is now in the Berlin Museum, No. 14197; see Erman, Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache, 38, 112.

to permit the resumption of Amen-worship, and later to restore the old festival calendar of Karnak. The "feast of Opet," the greatest of all the festivals of Amen was conducted by him. Next, he changed his name Tutenkhaten, which means "Living image of Aten," to Tutenkhamen which means the "living image of Amen." This change in his name was the evidence that he was completely subjected by the priestly party of Amen.

Records fail to indicate the name of Tutenkhamen after a few years of his reign. He was succeeded by Eye, who had married Akhenaten's nurse by the name of Tiii.

Eye, after his accession to the throne, was against the priests of Amen. He even undertook the task of repairing the temple of Aten at Thebes. The eighteenth Dynasty came to a close at the end of his reign.

Harmhab, the first Pharaoh of the nineteenth Dynasty, restored the worship of Amen as the main religion of the Empire. This re-establishment of Amen worship took place almost eight years after the death of Akhenaten.

The monotheistic character of Aten worship was high, ideal, and philosophical. The majority of Egyptian people of this time could not understand the deep meaning of Aten worship.

The temples and shrines of all gods except Aten were closed during the reformation of Akhenaten. The halls attached to the temple being closed, on feast days, songs of rejoicing by the people ceased. These places, which were in reality, the centers of community life, were closed.

The dissatisfaction of the people appeared strongly each time when one of their members died. The superstitious element in their knowledge of life after death remained with them. In carrying out their funeral ceremonies, the essential element was lacking. This was for the reason that Osiris, the great comforter of the dead, could no longer serve them. During illness, the people could no longer receive exorcism as was their custom. Thus, general discontent reigned among the people. The most bitter and immediate opposition faced by Akhenaten was from the priests of Amen and the militarists. The priests of Amen objected to his rash and radical religious changes, while the militarists objected to his neglecting his duty as a conqueror.

Signs of Aten worship remained during the reign of Akhenaten's three immediate successors. The advanced form of religion characterized Aten worship, which was revealed when the city Akhetaten was excavated. It seems that such an advanced form of religion was not appreciated by the

people of Akhenaten's days. Shorter stated: "When Akhenaten died.....his new religion died with him."¹

Throughout the history of Egypt, monotheism like Aten worship has never appeared. This is true not only in Egypt but in the whole of the ancient world.

Almost one hundred and thirty years after the death of Akhenaten, the exodus of a group of Israelites from Egypt took place under the leadership of Moses.

According to the tradition, recorded in the Old Testament, Moses was born in Egypt. His name proves this fact because the Egyptian word "mose" (ሸፍ) means "born of" which appeared often in the names of the pharaohs. For instance the name "Thotmose" (ሸፍ ስቅ) meant "Born of Tut (Moon God)" or "Son of Tut."

The origin of Yahweh worship which is the monotheism of Israel, is usually ascribed to Moses. Attempts were made in vain to find a possible relationship between Aten worship and Yahweh worship, or whether Moses had been influenced by Akhenaten's religious reformation.

It is more probable that Mitannian and Semitic religions which influenced Akhenaten, might have given a more direct influence on the great Israelite leader, Moses.

1. Shorter, Introduction to the Egyptian Religion, p. 118.

This must have led him in founding Yahweh worship which in the course of formation became purely monotheistic in nature.

Erman, A., Die Agyptische Religion, (Die Religionen des Orients, heraus. von Paul Hinneberg, pp. 34-41) Leipzig-Berlin, 1913.

----- Life in Ancient Egypt, London, 1894.

----- Literature of the Ancient Egyptians, London, 1927.

Farquhar, J. N., A Primer of Hinduism, London, 1912.

Garstang, J., The Land of the Hittites, New York, 1910.

Gray, L. H., (ed) The Mythology of All Races, Vol. VI. Indian, by A.B. Keith, Boston, 1917.

----- The Mythology of All Races, Vol. XII. Egyptian by Max Müller, Boston, 1918.

Hall, H. R., The Ancient History of the Near East, London, 1916(3).

Hopkins, E. W., The Religions of India, Boston, 1895.

Knudtzon, J. A., Die El-Amarna Tafeln, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1907.

Maspero, G., Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria, New York, 1892.

----- The Struggle of the Nations, Egypt, Syria and Assyria, Vol. 2, New York, 1900.

Mercer, S. A. B., Growth of Religious and Moral Ideas in Egypt, London, 1919.

Moore, G. F., History of Religions, 2 vols.. New York, 1913.

Oswald, M. M., Ech-en-aten, Sonnenhymnus, München, 1920.

Paton, L. B., The Early History of Syria and Palestine, New York, 1901.

Peet, T. E., and Wooly, C., The City of Akhenaten, Part I, Excavation of 1921 and 1922 at El-'Amarneh, Boston, 1923.

1936-1937. The following is a list of the species of plants found in the area of the study.

Peet, T. E., "Excavations at Tell El-Amarna: A Preliminary Report." Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 7 (1921), pp. 169-185.

---- "Egypt, the Imperialism of the Eighteenth Dynasty," in Great Events in History, edited by Taylor, London, 1934.

Petrie, W. M. F., Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity, London, 1909.

----- Syria and Egypt, from the Tell el-Amarna Letters, London, 1898.

Rawlinson, G., History of Ancient Egypt, Vol. 2, New York.

----- Egypt and Babylon, from Sacred and Profane Sources, New York, 1885.

Renouf, P., Lecture on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Religion of Ancient Egypt, London, 1884.

Roeder, G., Agyptisch, Praktische Einführung in Die Hieroglyphen und die Ägyptische Sprache mit Lesestücken und Wörterbuch, München, 1926 (2).

Sayce, A. H., (ed) Records of the Past, Vol. 2, London, 1889.

---- The Religion of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia. London, 1911.

Schafer, H., Amarna in Religion und Kunst, Berlin, 1931.

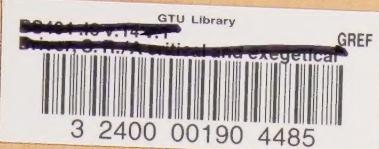
Shorter, A. W., An Introduction to Egyptian Religion, An Account of Religion in Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty, 1931.

Steindorff, G., The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians, New York, 1905.

Towers, J. R., "Was Akhenaten a Monotheist before His Accession?" in Ancient Egypt, Part IV, of 1931. London, pp. 97f.)

Weigall, A., The Life and Times of Akhnaton, Pharaoh of Egypt, London, 1922 (4).

----- A History of The Pharaohs, Vol. 2, N. Y., 1927.



LIBRARY USE ONLY

